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THE  
**CRISIS.**

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NUMBER LXL *To be continued Weekly,*  
DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

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SATURDAY, March 12, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.]

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*Hunc tota armata sequuntur.* **VING.**

*As Johnson noddles; right or wrong's infer'd;*

*He stalks the Leader of the scribbling Herd.*

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For all the various ways by which *courtly* and *ministerial* Partisans have endeavoured, or pretended to serve their *King* and *Country*, there is but one way of serving them effectually; that is, neither by *bleeding*, by *voting*, nor by *writing down the Constitution*: but by *administering Restoratives*. Those who have endeavoured to write it down, are among the worst Traitors. Their Iniquity can admit of no excuse; because it is attended with all the Guilt of the most deliberate and serious Premeditation. They are not irritated and inflamed by the insulting approaches of an Enemy in the Field, or by a vigorous Opposition of *Patriots* in the Senate. Theirs is the cool Work of the pensive and sequestered Closet; the infernal Product of a prostituted Pen, an itching Palm, and a rotten Heart. They are base enough to write for *Tyranny*, in  
Opposition



Opposition to their Understandings, their Reading, their Reason, their inward Conviction, and their Conscience. When I say this, it is with an Eye only to the Head of this scribbling Fraternity, the great *Doctor Johnson*, and his pious Shadow Mr. *John Wesley*. I consider them but as *one*. As to the common Herd of *ministerial Hackneys*, they are but Echoes of their Master *Johnson*, without professing themselves so, as the Reverend Pastor Mr. *Wesley* does most zealously. He is the "Mimic of his Master's dance," the professed Admirer and Abridger of that elaborate Tract, *Taxation no Tyranny*, which has (together with Mr. *Wesley's* little *Two-penny Manual*) been already answered, more largely, but, I hope, neither more satisfactorily, nor more explicitly. I shall confine myself to the faithful *Abridgement* (by Mr. *Wesley*) only, which I took up casually the other Day. As it is manifestly intended for the use of the *Myriads of Moorfields* (an enthusiastic, hot-headed, clamorous Body, and therefore fit for despotical Purposes) though it excited my Attention for a Moment in a former Paper, yet I really think, as Mr. *Wesley* says, that I shall serve my King and Country, in good earnest, by animadverting upon it once more. So rank a Poison in so compact a form, calls for an Antidote in as small a Body as itself. Mr. *Wesley* has worked his Master's Tract into a small Drop of Comfort for his *Tribe*; my Observations upon his pigmy Composition will make but a little Pill, which I beg leave to present (like all my others) GRATIS to the Public.

To begin with Mr. *Wesley's* Title of his Tract. He calls it, A CALM ADDRESS. It is the great Business and Master-stroke of all *Art* to conceal *Art*.-----Under this specious Mask of a *Calm* Peace-maker, the reverend Epitomizer most insinuatingly uses all his sacred Authority to bias his Flock in favour of *ministerial* and *despotic Measures*. I use Mr. *Wesley's* new Edition, corrected and enlarged: in the Preface he professes to serve his *King and Country*:---but mark gentle Reader, that this Service can not be effected by endeavouring to instill *false Principles* into either; even such exploded Principles as Sir *Robert Filmer's* Treatise upon Government abounds with.

Mr. *Wesley* asserts "that they are no *Slaves* who enjoy both civil "and religious Liberty." I admit the Truth of this general Assertion; but it cannot be applied to *America*, who is now suffering in her Frontiers all the miseries of War for *constitutional Resistance* and in her



her back Settlements sees *Popery* established by Act of Parliament, that she may be driven by *Papists* in her rear, upon the Bayonets of *Tyrants, Parricides, and Assassins* in her Front. This *ministerial Divine* is then pleased to inform us, "who is a *Slave*,"---he points to the *Negro*. But can it be any alleviation to the distressed *American* to behold another *Slave* of a darker Complexion than himself? Is this any Argument, or any Justification for introducing *Slavery* among *free Subjects*? Even the subjecting *Negroes* to *Slavery*, is against the Law of Reason, the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Law of God, and the Laws of England.

In the next Paragraph, we are told what is the real difference between *Liberty* and *Slavery*. "It consists (says Mr. *Wesley*) in going "where we will, and in the enjoying the *Fruits* of our Labour." Or in other Words, it consists in mere *Loco-motion*, and in the secure enjoyment of what we earn by the Sweat of our own Brows. We shall live to see Englishmen restrained from using this first Species of *Liberty*, should they *secede* (as probably they will) in large Bodies, to *America* within a very few Years; and a contrary Doctrine to this will be asserted *then*, perhaps even by Dr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Wesley* themselves; as to the other Species of *Liberty*, if *Money* is a Fruit of our Labour, we have already seen the most despotic Attempts made to wrest it from the *Americans* without their Consent. The English Government will not allow them the Right of giving and granting what they earn by their own Labour.

Mr. *Wesley* then arraigns the great *Montesquieu*, and Judge *Blackston*; they prove too much it seems; be that as it may, since they are no Advocates for *Despotism*, I shall not consider them as Opponents. Mr. *Wesley's* Candour induces him to confess, that he only speaks according to the *Light* he has at present:---But why would a Man of his Calling and good Sense, as well as Reading, stoop to light his farthing Candle at Doctor *Johnson's* Lamp, which was, even at that Instant, expiring in Stench? He abjures all lucrative Views; but could he seriously think that by inculcating *Anti-Revolution* Notions among his Congregation, he could really serve his King, who owes his Crown, and his Country who owes her present Constitution, to the happy *Revolution*?---Let us hear him further. He supposes in the outset of his *Address*, that all Emigrants owe the Origin of their Settlements to the King's Charter, "permitting them (as he says) to settle



"Settle in some far Country." But the Truth is, that the first Settlers in *New England* had no *Charter* at first: They were *Puritans*, who, instead of emigrating under the Sanction of *Royalty*, flew from the Face of *Tyrannic Royalty* and *Oppression*. They made their first Settlement, (whereby they formed a Community distinct from their Mother Country) entirely at their own Expence; independent either of the Favours, Influence, or Authority of the Crown of England; yet to this Authority Mr. *Wesley* tells us they still continue subject. I admit it, as far as that Authority goes; but it must have been in consequence of a Charter obtained subsequent to their Settlement. But what was this Authority? no Authority that could tax them, for it was the King's alone. Mr. *Wesley*, conscious of this, artfully slides into the next Paragraph (p. 8.) from the Term *Authority*, to the Term *supreme Power*, as his Master *Johnson* does in his larger *Lucubration*; and then, as if the King's single Authority, and the *supreme Power* (i. e. the King in his Parliament) were one and the same Authority, he proceeds thus: "Considering this nothing can be more plain than that the *supreme Power* in England, has a right of laying any Tax upon them (the *Americans*) for any End beneficial to the whole Empire." Here is Reason and Argument! That because the *Americans* are subject to the King's controul under his Charter (that is, to an Observance of the Charter) therefore, they are subject to unlimited Taxation by the *supreme Power*, that is, by the King and Parliament. This is as much as to say; that because the *Executive Power* (the King) may do one thing; therefore, the *legislative and executive Power* (the King and Parliament) joined together, may do another. Upon this doughty Argument rest the whole Merits of Dr. *Johnson's* laboured Tract, *Taxation no Tyranny*, which procured him a Doctor's Degree at Oxford, and a double Pension from the Minister. Mr. *Wesley's Calm Address* is but the Echo of it. Let us pursue the Sound again till we lose it. Mr. *Wesley* as if he had laid undeniable Premises, proceeds as Master of the Field. He attacks the *Americans* with this Argument, drawn, as it were, from an Absurdity. "If a Freeman, says he, cannot be taken without his own Consent, neither can he be punished without it." The Argument will not hold. In a State of Nature every Individual is his own Avenger, his own Judge and Executioner. Upon entering into Society he tacitly yields up this personal Right to the supreme Power with whom he stipulates for Protection. That Protection, and the Dispensation of Rewards and Punishments, should flow from the supreme Hand, is the very Essence of Society. Were its Members still to remain Judges in their own Cause, it could

exist



exist no longer; all must be Anarchy and Confusion. Their natural Right therefore, which is no longer tenable by a Subject without the total Loss of the most substantial Benefits, is tacitly and necessarily yielded up to the supreme Power for the Good of the whole Community. But was it ever yet supposed, or can it with reason be asserted, that Individuals, when they form Societies, ever mean to yield up their present and future *Property*, the fluctuating eventual Acquisitions of their own Labours, to the sole will and pleasure of the supreme Power? Such a Supposition is absurd unless *all* are made for *one*; besides, the Demands of the Sovereign Power upon the Subject cannot, in justice, be unlimited, they must, in justice, be proportioned not only to the occasional Necessities of the State, but to the different Circumstances of the several Members; who must otherwise have exchanged their natural *free State* for a *State of Slavery*, if nothing remains to them which they can call their own. *Despotic Government* was never yet embraced; it has ever been usurped. This is one of its constant Badges, that a Subject should have no *peculium*, or Property of his own. Civilians tell us that *Slaves* can have none; but the having, or not having this, is one of the chief Distinctions made by all Writers on civil Law, between the *Freeman* and the *Slave*.

This *Peculium* is really and truly the very Thing which Mr. Wesley calls the *Fruit of a Man's Labours*; it can be no other. If then, a *Freeman* (to be a *Freeman*) must necessarily have some free Will and some Property (nay all his acquired Property) in his own disposal, why should he not be at Liberty to exercise that free Will in giving and granting for the use of the State; what must be his *own*, and only his, to give and grant? If he has neither this Degree of free Will, nor this Property left, then all must belong to this *supreme Power* (so often sounded in our Ears by Dr. Johnson, and his Pupil Wesley) and all Mankind who have once entered into a State of civil Society must be neither more nor less than *Slaves*.

But Mr. Wesley (persevering like the Doctor and his ministerial Paymaster, in his mistakes and fallacies) insists "that the reception of any Law draws after it, by a Chain which cannot be broken the necessity of admitting *Taxation*." I think, I have just proved the very contrary to be true; I will therefore, only add one Position which is universally granted by all Writers on Civil and Municipal Law,



Law, and particularly by all English Lawyers, "That the Renunciation of a Subject's Right in one Case, or more, is not a Renunciation in all."

I now come to Mr. *Wesley's* third Section, where he encounters one most true Position, with as much ferocity and assurance of Success, as *Quixot* did the Windmill. It is this: "That every Freeman" "is governed by Laws to which he has consented." This is most true, if by the Term *Consent*, is understood either an actual, or virtual, an express, or necessarily imply'd *Consent*. These must necessarily have obtained at first, in the Origin of every Government, between the *supreme Power* and the *People*. It must otherwise have been *Usurpation*, not *Government*; which always pre-supposes a previous *Compact*, either express, or imply'd, or both, between the Sovereign Power and the Subject. Every sensible and able Writer upon Government declares the same: *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, *Locke*, *Sidney*, *Milton*, *Nath. Bacon*, *Montesquieu*, *St. Armand*, *Archerley*, and others.

In contradiction to these great Authorities, to History, Reason, common Sense, the general Opinion of Mankind, the essential difference between Freedom and Slavery, nay, in Contradiction to the Letter and Spirit of the British Laws and Constitution (under which the Colonists as well as we are born) in defiance of all these, *Doctor Johnson*, and his Scholar *Wesley*, pronounce this magisterial Sentence:—"Absolutely false."

[To be concluded in our next.]

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